Volume 22, No. 2 Autumn Number, 1933

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

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Communications on general Association matters should be addressed to Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary, Friends' Historical Association, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; manuscripts submitted for publication, and communications on editorial matters, should be addressed to Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Editor, Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association, 226 Dickinson Ave., Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

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Dues and subscriptions should be paid to I. Thomas Steere, Treasurer, Friends' Historical Association, 30 Buck Lane, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

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MEMBERSHIP

Any person, whether or not a member of the Society of Friends, who is interested in the purposes of the ASSOCIATION, is eligible for membership. Applications should be sent to the Chairman of the Membership Committee, John W. Cadbury, Jr., Moorestown, New Jersey. Members are especially urged to invite their friends to join, and, in case of their assent, to send their names as nominations to the Membership Committee.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

"Perpetual Membership" has been provided for by the following amendment to the Constitution:

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

Volume 22, No. 2 Autumn Number, 1933

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1933

Friends' Historical Association held its annual meeting at the Friends Institute, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, on Second-day, Eleventh month 27, 1933. Charles Francis Jenkins, President of the Association, presided at the business meeting. The annual reports of the President and Treasurer were given, and Directors of the Association were elected for the ensuing year.

The President's report outlined the activities of the Association for the year, which included the erection, in coöperation with Friends of monthly meetings in the neighborhood of Fallsington, of a marker commemorating the establishment of Falls Monthly Meeting in 1683; the issuance of two numbers of our BULLETIN; and the distribution of 250 acorns gathered by English Friends from trees in the Penn country of Buckinghamshire in England —many of which, unfortunately, had not germinated.

The President also referred to the continuing desire of the Association to find more suitable headquarters, and to the part which members of the Association had taken in the festivities commemorating the 250th anniversary of the founding of Falls Monthly Meeting. The meeting expressed cordial appreciation of the services of I. Thomas Steere, Treasurer, and of Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary.

Several members spoke of the deep loss to the Society incurred through the death, on October 7, 1933, of Dr. Norman Penney; and the following minute was adopted:

NORMAN PENNEY

At the annual meeting of Friends' Historical Association held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Eleventh Month 27, 1933, reference was made

to the death of Norman Penney at his home in Bournemouth, England, Tenth Month 7, 1933. It was the united wish of the members present to record their sense of loss and sorrow at his death and their deep appreciation of his life.

For some years Dr. Norman Penney has been the only Honorary Member of Friends' Historical Association, a distinction conferred upon him because of his unique contribution to Quaker history. The products of his researches were of the lasting kind. He was a builder of foundations. His painstaking editorial work was of inestimable value, as exemplified in the *Journal* and *Short Journal* of George Fox, as well as in the *Journal of Friends' Historical Society.* His devoted labors as Librarian of Friends Library, London, and more particularly his emphasis on indexing and cataloguing, were of great and enduring worth. Historians of Quakerism for years to come will begin their work where he left off, building on the foundations he laid.

Therefore, the members of Friends' Historical Association desire to pay their tribute of love and gratitude to Norman Penney—a true friend, a tireless scholar, and an eminent contributor to the historiography of Quakerism.[1]

The Chairman of the Friends' Records Committee, Albert Cook Myers, brought to the meeting three handsome bound volumes of photostats recently prepared under his direction. These volumes contained photostats of the Men's Minutes of Nottingham Monthly Meeting, 1730-1756; Women's Minutes of Nottingham Monthly Meeting, 1730-1778; and Marriage Register of Warrington Monthly Meeting, York County, Pennsylvania, 1748-1849. He reported that these volumes were the property of Friends' Historical Association, but that arrangements had been made to deposit them for safekeeping with the collections of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia.

The first part of the evening's literary program consisted of a paper by Joshua L. Baily, Jr., entitled *Friends and Music.* The paper was read by Albert L. Baily, Jr., and was listened to with great interest, not only because it was recognized as a sound and valuable contribution by the author in a neglected field of Quaker historiography, but because of the skilful rendition of selected cases of Quaker musical intoning by the reader. The paper will probably be printed in full in the next issue of the BULLETIN.

[1] For a further note on Norman Penney, see page 143.

For the second part of the literary program, Dr. Henry J. Cadbury reported orally on some of his recent discoveries concerning the lost writings of George Fox. His investigation began, he said, with an attempt to identify certain titles of books *owned by* George Fox. Theodor Sippell had found in 1928 at Friends Reference Library, London, a list of 108 such books, and had identified most of the titles. This was printed in 1932. The identification of the remaining titles constituted a challenge and led to some interesting and finally successful searches. Of the actual copies owned by Fox only one was known, the Dutch Testament, given by Joshua L. Baily to Friends' Historical Association. (See this BULLETIN 14 (1925) : 68.) The accuracy of the claim that this had been owned by Fox was confirmed by the appearance, in the last place on the list, of the item, "A Dutch Testmt. with Clasps," and by the discovery, on the page edges of the Testament itself, of the corresponding number (108) written in a faded ink. This clue and some others led one morning last winter to the discovery and identification at Friends House of twenty bound volumes of tracts noted in the same list which had also been owned by George Fox and finally passed to Westminster Meeting through a bequest of Fox's son-in-law, Thomas Lower, to Richard Hawkins. Three more books of this library were later uncovered at Westminster Meeting House. What was formerly the first tract in another of the bound volumes of tracts was identified in the Haverford College Library. Thus many of the actual copies of books owned by Fox have been identified, and way is open for further discoveries of the same kind.

Only after the above inquiries were completed had Dr. Cadbury examined the original MS. list which started his researches, and the book which contained it. The latter proved to be a huge comprehensive catalog of all papers and books *written by* George Fox so far as they could be collected shortly after his death. The entries are arranged by the year of origin, and number over 5000, including some duplicates. They may be divided into the three groups—of those that have been printed, those still extant in manuscript and never printed, those not certainly known to exist.

Of this last group the catalog gives much, though often quite tantalizing, information. Its method of citing is to give the first words of each piece. This enables us to identify those extant in MS. or print and to conjecture a little of the content of those now lost. Thus a page of printed Hebrew dated by the year in the Hebrew calendar that corresponds to 1685, but unsigned, can now be identified as written by Fox. Also an unprinted anonymous account of *The Rise of Friends and Truth* is now shown by the catalog to have been written by George Fox in 1690 and "sent to Holland at the desire of a Historian there to be printed in Latin." It is, in other words, a source of Croese's *Historia Quakeriana,* 1695.

Two large important lost works can also be largely recovered by the catalog and by the elaborate index which was prepared for it. One is Fox's *Great Journal,* to be distinguished from all the well-known forms of Fox's journal—the Spence MS., the Ellwood Journal, the Short Journal, etc. The other is the *Book of Miracles,* which contained in seventy folio MS. pages over 150 separate narratives of cures by Fox. Some of these incidents are known from other sources; for some the full text in the *Book of Miracles* can now be identified.

The three last-mentioned works are only three of a list of nearly one hundred collections of Fox material used by the author of this catalog. The library of printed books owned by Fox was another. Several others of the hundred beside *The Rise of Friends and Truth* are extant in MS. at Friends House. But the catalog also listed many single pieces, and depended further on some forty local catalogs of Fox's papers prepared by Friends in as many localities. Dr. Cadbury is preparing for publication some of the material discovered in this long-neglected catalog.

After the presentation of the literary program, the meeting adjourned to enjoy a refreshing collation, which was served in the tea-room on the second floor.

THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF ABINGTON MEETING

The seeds of Quakerism were actively germinating in the region of Philadelphia 250 years ago, and there have been several notable celebrations of anniversaries in the recent past. The BULLETIN reported the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, at Burlington, in the autumn number of 1931; of William Penn's arrival in the autumn number of 1932; and of the founding of Falls Meeting in the spring number of 1933. With this number we give an account of the corresponding anniversary of Abington Meeting and of Middletown Meeting.

For an account of the Abington celebration we reprint an article by Mary Sullivan Patterson printed in the *Friends Intelligencer* for Tenth Month 14, 1933. The program was elaborately worked out, and contains the names of many of the Quaker worthies impersonated in the episodes. For the sake of these names, and of the outlines of the episodes, and also for the sake of preserving the record of those who took part in the celebration, we print the program in full.

The account in the *Friends Intelligencer* is as follows:

Outstanding events in the history of Abington Monthly Meeting were reviewed in celebration of the 250th anniversary of its founding. The exercises on Ninth Month 23 attracted 2,500 visitors, many of them descendants of the early Friends portrayed, or members of the eight meetings which were formed in other localities as an outgrowth of this meeting. These eight younger meetings, all taking a keen interest and helping in the celebration, were a second Abington meeting, two in Germantown, two in Frankford, Horsham, Byberry and Cheltenham.

Early in the afternoon a tablet was unveiled in front of the Richard Wall house, now known as "The Ivy," on Old York Road in Elkins Park. Tradition says that this old stone house was built about 1682.[1] Abington Meeting met there occasionally in 1686 and 1687, before a meeting house was erected in this vicinity. William A. Longshore, Chairman of the arrangements, made an address of welcome, and Horace Mather Lippincott, descendant of Richard Wall, presented the tablet.

[1] See address of Horace Mather Lippincott, on page 109, and footnotes on pages 113 and 118.

Exercises followed on the grounds of the meeting house, situated half a mile east of Jenkintown. The present house of worship is on the site of the first one, built in 1700. The eastern half of the present house was built in 1786, the western half in 1797. An addition of a social room and First-day School rooms was made in 1929.

A large platform banked with evergreens had been built in front of the social room, and a broadcasting system sent every word out clearly to the crowds seated on comfortable chairs in the driveway and under the great oaks in the grove.

Francis R. Taylor, of Cheltenham Meeting, read an historical paper, "Centuries of Quiet Living," in which he evaluated the importance of our Quaker backgrounds. Many of the facts he mentioned were gathered from the meeting records by previous research.

An historical pageant reënacting six episodes in meeting history followed. The 150 Friends in the cast of characters, 50 of whom had speaking parts, were dressed in costumes authentic for the periods. These episodes were written mainly by Arthur H. Jenkins, Horace Mather Lippincott and Francis R. Taylor. Ruth Verlenden Poley and Alice Miller coached the six short plays. Announcements of facts underlying the various plays were made by Herbert Johnson, and this information was also printed on the programs.

The first episode was the founding of Abington Monthly Meeting at the home of Sarah Seary in "Tookany" (Frankford) in 1683. It was formed at the suggestion of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting to accommodate Friends along the Tacony and Poquessing Creeks.

The second scene showed nine German, Dutch and English Friends meeting in 1688 outside the house of Thones Kunders in Germantown. They discussed the holding of slaves, much of the conversation being in German. They decided to send a paper stating their views to the local meeting which had been started by that time in Germantown. This presentation was next viewed [in the third episode], and the protest was continued on to Quarterly and Yearly Meeting, where it was allowed to rest. This protest is notable as the first known attempt to end slavery in America.

The fourth was an imaginary episode with a true background. John Barnes, who gave 120 acres in trust to Abington Meeting in 1687 and £110 for a meeting house and the maintenance of a school, is seen telling his friend, Everard Bolton, Treasurer of the meeting, of his intention of making the gift. The social room, already mentioned, is called the John Barnes room.

The next act returns to the slavery theme. Benjamin Lay, an erratic old man, disowned by the Society in England, is denounced at a meeting at Abington in 1738, for the fanatical methods by which he tries to persuade Friends to give up their slaves.

The sixth episode shows Lucretia Mott visiting the Mather home at Washington Lane and Township Line, Jenkintown, one of the stations of the "Underground Railway," to see the escaped slave, Daniel Dangerfield.

The program was cleverly brought to a close by a summary of the significance to Quakerism of the acts just seen. As each was recalled, some of the characters returned to the stage, and finally the audience's attention was turned from the past to the future by a timely message from John A. Hughes, an English Friend, the director of Pendle Hill.

The visitors were invited to stay for a box supper, with coffee served by Abington Friends, and other refreshments on the grounds. All the buildings were open for inspection, including an old blacksmith shop which once served the community and was restored in 1929.

PROGRAM OF THE 250TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MEETING NOW KNOWN AS ABINGTON MONTHLY MEETING

NINTH MONTH 23D, 1933

2 P. M.

AT THE RICHARD WALL HOUSE

Here was held the first religious meeting in this vicinity, and Abington Monthly Meeting (also called Oxford Monthly Meeting and Dublin Monthly Meeting) met here once every three months during 1686 and 1687.

Welcome — William A. Longshore

Presentation of Tablet on Behalf of Abington Meeting,[1] — Horace Mather Lippincott

Unveiling of Tablet

Acceptance of Tablet on Behalf of Cheltenham Township, Ralph Morgan

Address — Hon. Harold G. Knight

Introduced by H. Carroll Brooke

AT ABINGTON MEETING HOUSE

3.30 P. M.

Historical Paper—Centuries of Quiet Living, — Francis R. Taylor, of Cheltenham

4.00 P. M.

Historical Pageant reënacting six interesting episodes in Meeting history. In four of these episodes the dominant theme is slavery and the attitude of Friends toward that institution.

[1] The address is printed on page 109.

The First Episode—1683

The Meeting at Sarah Seary's in "Tookany" (Frankford)

The Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting having directed that Friends in the settlements along the Tacony and Poquessing Creeks organize a Monthly Meeting, Thomas Fairman is asked to inform Tacony Friends and assist in the organization. The date is the 3d of Seventh Month, 1683 (Old Style), which corresponds to September 13, 1683, by the present calendar. A small group, only a few of whose names are known to us, meets in the Seary home. The appointment of John Hart as Clerk is probable but not certain.

The Players: Edwin K. Bonner, *John Hart;* Ada G. Clement, *Sarah Seary;* Walter C. Longstreth, *Thomas Fairman;* Thomas T. Taylor, *Richard Wall;* Stanley R. Yarnall, *Richard Townsend;* William P. Bonner, *A Poquessin Friend;* Marian Bonner, Ethel K. Bowditch, Clara Wildman Carter, Watson D. Comly, Florence M. Dolton, Jean B. Gunagan, Catherine Kessler, William C. Kesson, Emily C. P. Longstreth, Howard W. Ortlip, Frances Richardson, Florence M. Slater, Eleanor A. Stackhous, Miriam Tomlinson, Elizabeth M. Warnes, William Webster, Jr.

The Second Episode—1688

Germantown Friends Plan Slavery Protest

Outside the home of Thones Kunders, in Germantown, a group of nine German, Dutch and English Friends meet to discuss the holding of slaves, which is greatly disturbing the Germans, led by Francis Daniel Pastorius. The "paper" which they decide to present, first to their own Germantown Meeting and then to the Monthly Meeting, is historically the first word of organized protest against the traffic in men's bodies in America. Its date is April, 1688, thus antedating any other protest by many years.

The Players: Howard W. Elkinton, *Thomas Rutter;* Arthur C. Emlen, *Abraham Op den Graeff;* J. Linden Heacock, *Dirck Op den Graeff;* Ernest A. Heaton, *Herman Op den Graeff;* Dudley A. Jenkins, *Thones Kunders;* Irvin C. Poley, *Francis Daniel Pastorious;* Joseph Haines Price, *Jan Lucken;* Benjamin H. Shoemaker, 3d, *Jacob Shoemaker;* Stanley R. Yarnall, *Richard Townsend.*

The Third Episode—1688

The Germantown Protest Presented

The Monthly Meeting (held at the home of Richard Worrall, Jr.) is in its business session. John Hart of Byberry, the Clerk, reads the Germantown Protest. It is discussed, but many Friends feel that it would be impracticable to free the slaves, and the Meeting eventually passes the Protest up to the Quarterly Meeting as too weighty a matter to decide. (It was subsequently sent from the Quarterly to the Yearly Meeting, and there allowed to rest.)

The Players: Edwin K. Bonner, *John Hart;* Howard W. Elkinton, *Thomas Rutter;* Arthur C. Emlen, *Abraham Op den Graeff;* Willard S. Hastings, *Garret Hendericks;* J. Linden Heacock, *Dirck Op den Graeff;* Ernest A. Heaton, *Herman Op den Graeff;* Dudley A. Jenkins, *Thones Kun-*

ders; Charles R. Krewson, Jr., *Richard Worrall;* Malcolm R. Longshore, *John Russell;* Charles W. Michener, *Thomas Seary;* David Newport, *George Shoemaker;* Irvin C. Poley, *Francis Daniel Pastorious;* Joseph Haines Price, *Jan Lucken;* Benjamin H. Shoemaker, 3d, *Jacob Shoemaker;* Stanley R. Yarnall, *Richard Townsend;* Ruth E. Bonner, Faith O. Hastings, Marion W. Jenks, Charles R. Krewson, 3d, Jane O. Krewson, Ella H. Llewellyn, Hazel A. Shoemaker, E. Nathan Shoemaker, Edith S. Sullivan, Esther A. S. Wass.

The Fourth Episode—1697

The Donation of John Barnes

Here we turn from the weighty problem of slave-holding to an episode of particular interest to Abington Friends. The ground on which stands the Meeting House, the school, and other surrounding property was given in trust by John Barnes in 1697. Our episode is entirely imaginative, based only on the known friendship between Everard and Elizabeth Bolton and John Barnes, who may very well have consulted his friend on such a matter. Everard Bolton was for many years Treasurer of the Meeting. His house stood in the district now known to us as Oak Lane, and here we see the Boltons and four of their ten children.

The Players: Herbert Johnson, *John Barnes;* Joseph H. Penrose, *Everard Bolton;* Jennie C. Saunders, *Elizabeth Bolton;* Martha M. Comly, Betty Jane Hollingshead, Frederick H. Jarrett, Bertram L. O'Neill, Emily Park, *Children of the Boltons.*

The Fifth Episode—1738

Benjamin Lay

Passing over forty years, our next episode deals somewhat lightly with that interesting character, Benjamin Lay. He had been a Friend, but was disowned in England, moving to Barbados and later to Pennsylvania. His home at this time, the winter of 1737-38, was near this spot. In his earnestness against slave-holding he was led into the very odd and disconcerting behavior reënacted in the episode. It has been necessary to take some liberties with history and even probability, such as holding a business meeting without a religious meeting, the sitting together of men and women friends, and the interruption of the meeting by the mother of the kidnapped child. The minute with which the episode concludes is authentic. Abington Friends are gathering for Meeting.

The Players: George B. Hallowell, *Alexander Seaton;* Anna L. Mather, *The Child's Mother;* E. Russell Rockafellow, *The Clerk;* Roger Scattergood, *Benjamin Lay;* Elizabeth H. Bonner, Lydia C. P. Cosand, Julia Cheyney, Edward G. Drew, Jr., Marie A. Emlen, E. Margaret Fell, Caroline Betts Heacock, Esther Heacock, Thomas R. Hill, Arthur C. Jackson, E. Blanche Lake, Ellen Llewellyn, Georgina W. Mather, Ella S. Mitchell, Bertram L. O'Neill, Joseph C. Park, Martha C. A. Park, Edna W. Pearson, Mary S. Penrose, William Penrose, Anne H. Price, William D. Ridgway, Agnes C. Rockafellow, Mary R. Shoemaker, Marion C. Starr, Chalkley K. Stackhouse, Laura C. Stackhouse, J. Edward Walker, Lewis Walker, Alvin M. Walton, Betty Weaver, Emilie Shoemaker Webster, William H. Zeliff.

The Sixth Episode—1859

Lucretia Mott and the "Underground Railway"

A still longer interval separates this episode from the last. The date is 1859, and the place is the parlor of the home of Penrose and Lydia Mather, at Washington Lane and Church Road. James and Lucretia Mott, with their son-in-law, Edward M. Davis, come to the Mather home to see the escaped slave, Daniel Dangerfield, who has been kept from his Southern owner by the court in Philadelphia, and who is to be sent on to Canada by the "Underground Railway." The Mathers were members of Abington Meeting, the Motts of Philadelphia. This episode also is partly imaginative.

The Players: Sarah M. Emlen, *Cynthia Mather;* Marian D. Hallowell, *Lydia Mather;* Thomas L. Knight, *Edward M. Davis;* Helen Lukens Lewis, *Lucretia Mott;* Everett W. Mills, *Penrose Mather;* Joseph Haines Price, *James Mott;* Frederick Robinson, *the Slave, Daniel Dangerfield.*

The Seventh Episode

Here we turn from the past, with its joys and struggles, its failures and victories, and turn our thoughts toward the present and the future. There is a brief review of the preceding episodes, and then we listen to the closing message of John A. Hughes, of Pendle Hill and England.

Inspection of Abington Meeting House, the eastern half of which was built in 1786, and the western half in 1797, on the site of the original building. The addition to the west built in 1929.

Inspection of the Blacksmith Shop, restored in 1929 by the generosity of a Friend. It apparently served the neighborhood, as well as the Meeting and the School.

Basket supper on the lawn, weather permitting; coffee furnished by Abington Friends. Ice cream is for sale.

COMMITTEES

Abington—James F. Hallowell, *Chairman, Arrangements Committee;* Ann R. Jenkins, *Secretary;* Arthur H. Jenkins; Davis L. Lewis; Horace Mather Lippincott; William A. Longshore, *General Chairman;* F. Palin Spruance, *Chairman, Program Committee;* Marshall P. Sullivan, *Treasurer,* Elizabeth T. Taylor; Clara G. Turner, *Chairman, Reception Committee.*

Byberry—Edwin K. Bonner; Russell D. Knight.

Cheltenham—Caroline Wood Furness; Willard S. Hastings; William T. Llewellyn; Francis R. Taylor.

Frankford—Clarence Kenderdine; Elizabeth Webster Smedley; Elizabeth M. Warnes; Horace D. Webster.

Germantown—Arthur C. Emlen; Arthur N. Leeds; Samuel B. Lewis; Alice T. Miller.

Horsham—Anna Jarrett; E. Burton Satterthwaite.

Herbert Johnson, *Publicity;* Alice T. Miller, Ruth Verlenden Poley, *Directors of the Pageant.*

THE RICHARD WALL HOUSE

By Horace Mather Lippincott [1]

The Society of Friends was born in a day of intense religious controversy which was so absorbing as to control the political and, indeed, the whole conduct of the nation. It was well-nigh impossible to separate religious from political prejudices. To private arguments were added public debates and to heavy treatises was joined a vigorous pamphleteering. So the seventeenth century was a period of theological discussion and of bitter controversy. Many Protestant sects had arisen and were battling against Catholicism and the English Church, and among each other.

About 1650 George Fox emerged from this confusion in England to preach the faith that became known as Quakerism. Gloucestershire came in time to be a strong Quaker center, built up largely through the powerful preaching of Christopher Holder, Josiah Coale, and Thomas Thurston. All of these preachers visited America, establishing Quakerism in Virginia and the Carolinas.

The parent monthly meeting in England was sometimes held at Stoke Orchard, about ten miles northwest of the town of Cheltenham, and sometimes at the house of Richard Wall of Hasfield, about fifteen miles northwest of Cheltenham. The town of Cheltenham stands on the edge of the Vale of the Severn, which runs down the west central part of England. It is a charming, rural, garden country of villages and farms watered by the Avon, the Wye, and the Severn, and flanked by the Cotteswold hills. Near by is the source of the Thames. Cheltenham has pleasant, tree-lined streets, and is a health and educational center today, with its springs and its colleges for both sexes. The Shakespeare country, and famous cathedrals and abbeys, are close by.

[1] An address (slightly abridged) delivered at the unveiling of a tablet at the Richard Wall House, Church and Old York Roads, Cheltenham Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, at the commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of Abington Monthly Meeting of Friends, September 23, 1933. The author is a direct descendant, of the ninth generation, of Richard Wall.

The ground upon which we stand was granted by William Penn to Richard Wall in 1682, and comprised 600 acres. His son, Richard Wall, Jr., had an adjacent tract of 100 acres. The Walls came over in that year with their friend and neighbor, Toby Leech, who became a provincial assemblyman and a large landowner. His house was about a mile distant on Church Road. These two prominent Friends undoubtedly gave the name of their home district in England to this township.

In the minutes of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of Friends there appears this record of Richard Wall's arrival:

> Richard Wall, his certificate was read in the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia and accepted, which was given him by the Monthly Meeting held at ye house of Edward Edwards of Stock [Stoke] Orchard in ye county of Gloucester the 26th Day of the 4th Month 1682, and subscribed by Charles Toney, Giles King, Edwd. Waters, Joseph Underhill and several others.

Arriving in midsummer, 1682, he undoubtedly constructed his residence before the winter set in. Whether this was of logs or of stone, we do not know; but as there was stone immediately available, it is probable that he built a two-story stone house of two rooms without a cellar, which forms the northwest corner of the present house.[2] An addition was built about 1725, and a still larger portion of the house was built about 1800. Richard Wall's family consisted of himself and his wife, who was Joane Wheel, and Richard Wall, Jr., and his wife, who was Rachel Leech, a sister of Toby, and their daughter Sarah.

Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting set up a monthly meeting for Friends of "Tookany and Poetquesink," now Frankford and Byberry, in Sixth Month 1683, to which these Friends of Cheltenham were attached. This meeting was first held Seventh Month (September) 3, 1683. Traveling through the wilderness on horseback overland was none too easy, and Cheltenham Friends soon desired a more convenient place for worship. Accordingly—

> At a Mo-Meeting held at Sarah Searys, ye 3d of 10 mo. 1683 at request of some ffriends belonging to this Meeting

[2] See footnotes on pages 113 and 118.

A Meeting was Settled Near Cheltenham at the house of Richard Wall.

These early meetings were held at the houses of members before meeting houses were built, and the most commodious and comfortable residence was generally chosen. This is evidence that Richard Wall's house was a substantial one, as has been surmised, and therefore a part of the present structure as indicated. In 1685 the monthly meeting was held there in rotation with Oxford and Byberry. It was to this monthly meeting that Germantown Friends addressed the first public protest against slavery, in 1688.

Abington Meeting has consistently held against this "traffic in men's bodies," and has had prominent exponents in Benjamin Lay and Lucretia Mott. The Quaker poet, Whittier, sent a poem to Lucretia Mott in 1870 touching upon these early pioneers, the first stanza of which I quote:[3]

Oh! if the spirits of the parted come,
Visiting angels, to their olden home;
If the dead fathers of the land look forth
From their far dwellings, to the things of Earth—
Is it a dream that with their eyes of love
They gaze now on us from the bowers above?
Lay's ardent soul—and Benezet the mild,
Steadfast in faith, yet gentle as a child—
Meek-hearted Woolman—and that brother band,
The sorrowing exiles from their "Fatherland,"
Leaving their homes in Krisheim's bowers of wine
And the blue beauty of their glorious Rhine,
To seek amidst our solemn depths of wood
Freedom from man and holy peace with God;
Who first of all their testimonial gave
Against the oppressor,—for the outcast slave,—
Is it a dream that such as these look down,
And with their blessing our rejoicing crown?

Richard Wall, Jr., died intestate Second Month 6, 1689, and his daughter Sarah became the heiress of the Wall estates.

[3] Quoted by Albert Mordell, in *Quaker Militant: John Greenleaf Whittier,* Boston 1933, p. 274, from the *Thirty-Sixth and Final Annual Report, Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, April, 1870,* Philadelphia 1870, page 47. *Krisheim,* line 11, is Whittier's spelling of *Kriegsheim* (see *Pennsylvania Pilgrim,* line 12); the *Report* has *Krieshiem.*

Richard Wall died First Month 26, 1689, and his wife Joane Twelfth Month 2, 1701. They are buried in the graveyard on Cheltenham Avenue bequeathed by him to the meeting.

Sarah Wall married George Shoemaker, who came from Germany with his parents on the ship *Jeffries* from London, arriving First Month 20, 1686. They became the progenitors of a large family which gave the name of Shoemakertown to the village until 1889, when it was changed to the meaningless name of Ogontz. George Shoemaker became an important man in the district, and, with Toby Leech, was one of the commissioners that laid out Old York Road in 1711.

Many prominent Friends of the district were married in the house during the time that the monthly meeting was held there. Sarah Wall Shoemaker died about 1709, and her husband in 1740.

The next resident was their son Isaac, who married Dorothy Penrose, daughter of Bartholomew Penrose, shipbuilder, and his wife Hester, daughter of Toby and Hester Ashmead Leech. In partnership with her brother-in-law, Richard Mather, and John Tyson, she built a grist mill "opposite ye said Dorothy's Garden, at the place of said crick, commonly called and known by the name of ye Sheeps Washing Place." This was in 1746, and the mill was continuously operated until about twenty-five years ago, and was demolished in 1927. It stood not far away.

The property came next to John Shoemaker, who married Elizabeth Livzey, daughter of the pioneer Thomas Livzey from Chester, England, who settled in Lower Dublin Township. John died in 1807, and his son Charles succeeded. Charles had two wives, Elizabeth Paul and Margaret Wood.

At his death in 1837, his son, Charles H. Shoemaker, inherited the property with his wife, Mary S. Boon. On Fourth Month 1, 1847, the estate was sold to Charles Bosler, one of the employees. His son and grandson, Joseph and Charles, continued to operate the mill. Joseph was United States Treasurer at Philadelphia, and a prominent citizen. All of these were members of Abington Monthly Meeting of Friends, which was relocated at its present site near Jenkintown when John Barnes gave it 120 acres in 1699. Both the American and the British armies passed by here in 1777 and 1778.

The Friends' meeting, the grist mill, and the residence of some of the most important people in the township made this place a distinguished one and a center for many miles about. This record and the fact that this house is the only known residence of a first settler [4] still standing in the township make it an appropriate ornament for the community to preserve.

Abington Monthly Meeting of Friends has considered it fitting to mark the place of its origin, and on its behalf I turn over this tablet, suitably inscribed, to the Commissioners of Cheltenham Township. Keep this place well. It has sheltered earnest, consecrated souls, who came three thousand miles in small boats on a great ocean to conquer the wilderness and to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. They were brave hearts and sturdy pioneers. They and their succeeding generations built this community into a substantial one, well worthy of America's best traditions. To us Quakers of Abington Meeting, it is hallowed ground.

And so, we bade you here
For no brave show of pomp and circumstance,
No drum or trumpet call
To stir your sense.
Our faith experience is, and not
The rites and ceremonies
Of man's enactment,
That perish with the using.

Here there have lived
Brave souls in sweet attune
To God's direct command,
And touched by Inward Light.
Listen, kinsmen, to the echo in your hearts
Of things remembered and held dear
From early childhood, and familiar
Round each Quaker hearthstone,
A noble heritage of God's Imminence
To all His people, everywhere.

[4] It should perhaps be noted that some who have examined the Richard Wall house have doubts as to whether any outside wall of the present house can certainly be identified as a part of the house originally built by Richard Wall in 1682. See footnote page 118.—EDITOR.

Agents are these events, these saints,
That free the souls and minds of men
From bondage, so guided freedom
May possess us, and peace and beauty
Fill our world with love.

Look beneath this poor portrayal
Of these dear Friends who bred our faith,
And see the Light Within
Beget the deep concern
That lay upon their hearts,
To practice God's presence there
As way might open.

Small and obscure they seemed
To world's people then,
As did the Nazarene,
But soon it came to be
That one Quaker shook the land
For full ten miles around.

What now must be your thoughts?
Our founders you have scanned
In few brief glimpses,
Memorable for their appareling.
They are naught; look deeper;
For the voice of God was there,
Speaking now as ever,
Directly to His sons.
This is the great event,
The Quaker heritage.

Abington Meeting House, near Jenkintown, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, from a photograph taken about 1910

Abington Meeting House, with the addition erected in 1929, and dedicated on Eleventh Month 9th of that year

A SHORT HISTORY OF ABINGTON MEETING

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE BUILDING OF ABINGTON MEETING HOUSE

By Arthur H. Jenkins and Ann R. Jenkins[1]

I

The English Quakers who about the year 1680 transferred themselves and their families to the pleasant lands along the Delaware faced no easy existence. To be sure, the wise policies of William Penn and the just and pacific principles of the Quakers spared them the peril from the Indians that was the lot of most of the other American colonies.

But the settlers had no lack of difficulties to overcome. There were houses to be built, land to be cleared of its heavy growth of timber, and a civil government to be set up. And, in addition to these tasks, the Quakers set themselves immediately to the organization of their religious society into settled meetings.

They were an energetic and a practical people. They were carving a new society and a new state out of the wilderness. Their faces were to the future. They were too busy in making history to give much thought to recording their acts as they went along.

And thus it comes about that anyone who delves into the early history of Abington Monthly Meeting immediately finds himself hampered and baffled by the fragmentary nature of the written records.

Minutes of the monthly meeting were no doubt kept from the beginning, as Thomas Fairman was appointed to procure a book, probably for this purpose, at the earliest monthly meeting, in 1683. But there must have been much irregularity in the keeping of minutes, for when George Boone in 1718 made the transcription of the previous minutes which we now possess, he wrote specifically that it was "Transcribed from Sundry Manuscripts."

[1] A paper prepared for the dedication exercises of the new building at Abington Meeting House, Eleventh Month 9, 1929, and read on that occasion by Charles F. Jenkins, of Germantown: printed in 1929 in pamphlet form, and reprinted here, with a few changes, in connection with the account of the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of Abington Monthly Meeting.

It was in 1716 that the meeting, evidently dissatisfied with the condition of its records, appointed a committee of four—Thomas Canby, Morris Morris, Peter Shoemaker and Everard Bolton—to "view the former minutes, and judge what is requisite to be transcribed." The committee was none too active in this service, and had to be prodded several times by later meetings, so that it was not until 1719 that the compilation was completed, and George Boone finished his admirable penman's copy and was paid for his work.

George Boone was no doubt schoolmaster of Abington School. Among the children of his brother, Squire Boone, was Daniel Boone, famous pioneer and settler of Kentucky.

We should perhaps be thankful for what minutes we possess. Too many records of Friends have disappeared completely and forever. But the meager skeleton of facts that the meeting's committee judged to be "requisite to be transcribed" falls sadly short of a satisfactory picture of our forefathers' ideas and actions.

II

This paper aims to set down in order two narratives, overlapping in many points, but still distinct—the history of the organization and growth of Abington Meeting, and the history of Abington meeting house.

As to the meeting, the early minutes[2] are specific. In the autumn of 1682 meetings were being held at Shackamaxon, on the Delaware River north of the site of Philadelphia, and other meetings were appointed to be held at convenient points. As soon as Friends had made homes for themselves in the Tacony and Poquessing valleys, in the sections which we now call Frankford and Byberry, they doubtless held private religious meetings, the dates of which are unknown to us. But regularly organized public First-day meetings were ordered to be held by a minute of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting dated Fourth Month 5, 1683, which would be June 15, 1683. Later a monthly

[2] Nearly all the facts and dates in this paper are taken from the original minutes of Abington Monthly Meeting. These minute books are preserved at Abington Meeting House; an excellent typewritten copy by Gilbert Cope, complete to the year 1774, is among the records of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

meeting was appointed to be organized, and this was held first, probably at the home of Sarah Seary, on Seventh Month (September) 3 (O. S.), 1683.[3]

It may be noted that the use of geographical names in the early records is very free and easy. Tacony was also called Oxford, and oftener Dublin, both being names of townships. The famous gift of John Barnes was made, not to Oxford Monthly Meeting, as it then was, nor to Abington Meeting, as it was shortly to become, but to Dublin Monthly Meeting. The bequest of Richard Wall at about the same time was to Cheltenham Meeting.

However, what seems confused to us was doubtless clear enough to the Friends of that day, who had more urgent matters on their minds. One of these was the provision of a meeting place for the new meeting, and in addition to directing Thomas Fairman to provide a minute book, the first meeting resolved to construct a building on a plot of land in Oxford Township offered by Thomas Fairman.

Two collections of funds were ordered, one for the meeting and one for the poor. And the next meeting was ordered to be held at the house of John Hart in Poetquesink—that is to say, in Byberry.

The transactions of this monthly meeting were given with some particularity, because it may fairly be considered as the first session of Abington Monthly Meeting. The organization set up on that day has functioned continuously to the present time. If Abington Friends should wish to commemorate the 250th anniversary of its founding, this should logically take place on Ninth Month 13, 1933.[4]

The prominence of Thomas Fairman in the first monthly meeting is evident. He had moved to Oxford so that William Penn could occupy his house in Philadelphia, and at this time was plainly the leading spirit of the meeting.

[3] The "time lag" under the old-style calendar is generally figured as 10 days up to about 1700, and 11 days thereafter until the calendar is changed. The date corresponding to Seventh Month 3, 1683, when the monthly meeting at "Tookany" was first held, would therefore be September 13.

[4] The celebration was actually held on Ninth Month 23, 1933.

The meeting house of logs was duly built, and monthly meeting, which in the meantime was held alternately at Sarah Seary's and John Hart's, was first held in the new building in Third Month (May), 1684.

But the land on which the meeting house stood, and on which a burial ground was laid out, the donation of Thomas Fairman, was not to come into the possession of the meeting until many years later. Thomas Fairman, who had been William Penn's surveyor and one of his trusted lieutenants, shortly quarreled with his chief. Perhaps he also fell out with the Oxford Friends, or he may have repented of his generosity with the land.

At all events, the meeting failed in several attempts to get legal title to the ground. It was not until 1699, fifteen years later, that Thomas Fairman finally sold it to Joseph Paul and John Worrall on behalf of the meeting, for two pounds silver.

The period of meeting history between 1686 and 1699 is obscure, but we know that it was a time of difficulty and dissension. The monthly meeting was held alternately in the Oxford log meeting house and at John Hart's in Byberry until 1686.

In 1683 a religious meeting had been appointed at the home of Richard Wall,[5] who was the owner of a tract of 600 acres in Cheltenham Township, his house standing on the banks of Tacony Creek near the junction of Old York Road and Church Road.[6]

[5] It is certain that the name of the owner of the Cheltenham house where Abington Friends Meeting was first held was Richard Wall, not Waln nor Walln, as sometimes spelled in the meeting minutes. This is proved by several documents, as well as by the records of the meeting at Hasfield, Gloucestershire, England, from which Richard Wall came. There is no connection whatever between the Walls and the prominent Waln family of Philadelphia.

[6] The more closely the matter is examined, the more doubtful it becomes that any of the external walls of the present Richard Wall house was a part of the original building of 1683. The Committee on the Preservation of Historic Monuments of the American Institute of Architects (Philadelphia Chapter), after a thorough examination by Mr. Carl A. Ziegler, expresses the opinion that the oldest portion of the present building, while pre-Revolutionary, does not go back to the eighteenth century. There is no known documentary evidence. A bronze tablet, unveiled on September 23, 1933, marks the site of the Richard Wall house, long the property of the Shoemaker and Bosler families, and since 1932 in the possession of the Commissioners of Cheltenham Township.

This meeting grew rapidly, and beginning with First Month (March) 1686, the monthly meeting was held in rotation at Richard Wall's, at Oxford, and at John Hart's, in Byberry.

But the next year, without any explanation, the monthly meeting agrees to meet hereafter at the home of Richard Worrall, Jr.[7] From this time until 1702, there is no indication in the minutes as to where the monthly meeting was held.

The key to these enigmas is probably to be found in an event that shook the meetings in and around Philadelphia to their foundations. This was the celebrated George Keith controversy and schism.

To describe the Keith troubles would be outside the scope of this paper. Briefly, they extended over several years, beginning about 1690, and led to the withdrawal of considerable numbers of Friends from the various meetings. Keith himself, referred to by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting as "that malicious unruly instrument," was an erratic and untrustworthy leader, and a few years later abandoned his followers and joined the Church of England. Some of those who had left the Friends later returned to the Society, as is shown by various minutes of the meeting in after years, but many turned to the Episcopal and other churches.

Only two minutes of this monthly meeting contain any reference to the George Keith troubles, but throughout the greater part of the year 1691 the revised minutes say "no business." If there were dissensions, it was thought best that no record of them should be preserved.

John Hart of Byberry was one of the leading Friends who followed Keith, and the Byberry religious meeting was therefore moved to the house of Henry English. John Hart later left the Keithian Friends, and joined the Baptist Church. Thomas Fairman may have been another of the Keith supporters, and this would sufficiently account for his refusal to give Oxford Meeting its ground.

[7] Proper identification of the house of Richard Worrall where the monthly meeting was held in 1687 and probably until 1702, is a matter of some antiquarian interest, and should be undertaken by someone. Richard Worrall must not be confused with Richard Wall.

We may indeed safely assume a split in the meeting. And if one of the factions held its sessions for a time in a frame building belonging to Thomas Graves in Oxford Township, this would account for the traditional connection of Friends with Trinity Episcopal Church. For the use of this building by Quakers we have the somewhat dubious authority of George Keith himself, but whether these were Keith's own followers, or a "regular" minority of the Oxford Meeting, is now uncertain. The building stood on a plot of three acres, which Thomas Graves deeded in 1699 to the Trinity congregation, and on which the brick church, still in use, was built in 1712.[8]

III

In the meantime, Friends must have been looking about for another site, to which they could secure a clear title, and perhaps where the George Keith quarrels were less bitter. It was at this juncture, on Second Month (April) 5, 1697, that John Barnes came forward with his gift of land in Abington. He gave in trust 120 acres of land, "for and towards the erection of a Meeting House for Friends, and towards the maintenance of a School."[9]

This is well known. It is not so well known, perhaps, that John Barnes also advanced £50 for the building, for in 1700 the Treasurer of the meeting, Everard Bolton, was directed to pay him 40 shillings interest on this loan. In addition to this, a record of the meeting, held 111 years later, in 1808, says that John Barnes gave outright £150 in money for the school, although apparently only £112/10/– of this was actually received. Possibly John Barnes did not require the repayment of

[8] This transfer of three acres in Oxford Township by Thomas Graves to the Trinity Episcopal Church, and the sale of the meeting house property at Frankford by Thomas Fairman to Oxford Meeting, both occurring in 1699, appear to be significant steps; perhaps they mark the "liquidation" of the George Keith schism in Oxford Township. They suggest that the Oxford meeting house was retained by the "regular" faction during the Keithian troubles, and that the frame building on the Graves property housed a meeting of the Keithian Friends.

[9] The original of this trust deed has not been preserved. It was recorded at Philadelphia, in one of the Philadelphia County deed-books that are now in the possession of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania at Harrisburg.

his £50 loan, as there is no record of such payment, but instead reduced the amount of his subscription.

It is interesting to note that in 1697 the cash donation was much more valuable than the 120 acres of land. William Penn originally sold the land of the province in large tracts at 50 acres to the pound sterling, plus one shilling per year quitrent.

Land prices advanced rapidly thereafter, but it happens that we have the record of a private sale of land by the same John Barnes to Everard Bolton in 1700, only three years later. The price was £14 for 242 acres, and £3 for an additional 39 acres, or £17 for the whole 281 acres. The value of John Barnes's gift of 120 acres can therefore be fixed as about £7.

Plans for building the new meeting house were started within a few months, and the Cheltenham Friends decided to ask the quarterly meeting for help. On the 7th of Tenth Month (December), 1697, the minutes of Philadelphia Meeting have this entry: "Evan Morris presents to this Quarterly Meeting, that Friends up that way are about building a new meeting house for the service of Truth, and that they desire the concurrence & assistance of this meeting. In order thereto it's desired, that John Kinsey may propose the matter to our next Monthly Meeting in order for their assistance, the said house being intended to be built by the approbation of this Meeting."

There is no mention of the matter in the minutes of the monthly meeting which was held toward the end of December. But the following month, Philadelphia Monthly Meeting makes this minute: "Whereas the last meeting agreed that £20 should be lent out of the Meeting Stock to Cheltnam friends to help them in building a Meeting house, This Meeting upon further consideration agrees, that a collection be made by way of a subscription for that service, and if it do not arise to £20, then this Monthly Meeting to make it up out of the Meeting Stock, and if it arises to more than £20 they are to have it."

It will be observed here that Philadelphia Monthly Meeting regarded the subscription as being made to the Friends of Cheltenham Particular Meeting, rather than to Dublin Monthly Meeting. Evan Morris was a regularly appointed representative of Dublin Monthly Meeting at the quarterly meeting, but there is

no evidence that he was instructed by the monthly meeting to open the project, and more likely did so as a private member. The next minute refers to "Cheltnam Monthly Meeting," which might more properly be "Dublin Monthly Meeting held at Cheltenham." But such distinctions were not much considered in those days.

From the phonetic spelling in these minutes, it is evident that Cheltenham at this time was still pronounced in two syllables, after the English manner.

The next month we find this: "Will^{m} Jenkins by the desire of Cheltnam Monthly Meeting saith that their meeting accepts of a Subscription to be made for assisting them in building their Intended new Meeting house."

And finally, on the 29th of Fifth Month (July) 1698: "Penticost Teage and John Busby who was by the last Mo. Meeting desired to get a subscription and collect money for Cheltnam friends to help them in building their New Meeting house make report that they have collected in Cash £27/2/5, £2/4 more behind, which will be allowed by disaccount—Which money they are desired to deliver to the said Cheltnam friends."

About £30 was therefore contributed by Friends of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, if they collected the additional pledges that were "more behind." What is the meaning of the "disaccount" in the minute, is not clear.

Work on the new building at Abington did not start for some time, however. We do not know even the approximate date, but the autumn of 1699 or the early spring of 1700 would probably not be far wrong. Everard Bolton and Samuel Cart were in charge of the finances, and an auditing committee was appointed in Fourth Month (June) 1700, to go over their accounts. The auditors reported that there was a balance of 18 shillings sixpence due Everard Bolton, so that work on the building must have been proceeding at that time.

Nor do we know exactly when the building was finished. It evidently made slow progress, for it is not until First Month 29, 1702, which would be April 9, 1702, according to our present calendar, that the minutes at last record that the next monthly meeting is directed to be held at Abington. This first meeting

in the new building would have been held, therefore, on the date corresponding to May 7, 1702.

We assume that the new meeting house was of stone. It was still standing, although in need of repair, in 1797, and no less durable material could have lasted so long.

The monthly meeting did not, however, make its headquarters exclusively at Abington. The previous arrangement continued, the meeting being held at Abington, Oxford and Byberry in rotation, and this continued until Fourth Month (June) 1710, when it was agreed that the meeting should be kept only at Abington until further ordered. The Abington building was no doubt the only one that would now hold the membership.

We should not leave this period of the meeting's history without making mention of the estimable character and eminent services of Everard Bolton. He was one of the earliest arrivals from England, about 1683, and settled in Cheltenham, in the section which is now Oak Lane. For thirty years he was treasurer and one of the mainstays of the meeting, his solid character and level head earning him a place on every important committee and as a perennial representative to the quarterly meeting. He was appointed a justice of the peace in 1715.

The assistance of Philadelphia Friends in building Abington meeting house is typical of the spirit of generosity and helpfulness that was characteristic of these early Friends. The minutes of this meeting are a mere skeleton before 1718, but they record that in 1684, at a meeting at John Hart's in Byberry, William Nichols, being in penury, was allowed 4 shillings per week from the Poetquesink Meeting—that is, Byberry Particular Meeting. James Sessions is also allowed "bread corn"—that is, wheat or rye for bread—for a month.

Some months later, a special collection for the poor was made. In 1695 a collection of something more than £8 was made for the relief of John Brock. In 1701 the particular meetings made a subscription for Richard Townsend, who had suffered severe loss by a flood. In 1708 the meeting made a loan of £4 to Cunnard Rutter of Germantown to buy a cow.

One more notable instance was the burning of Shaterthite's mill. This calamity occurred in February, 1712, by our calen-

dar, and the next monthly meeting promptly gave £5 for the relief of the owner, Joseph Shaterthite, and his mother-in-law, the widow Albinson. Shaterthite, no doubt, is our modern Satterthwaite—another charming piece of phonetic spelling. Other contributions came from Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, and from as far away as Haverford Meeting, so it is evident that the burning of the mill was no slight loss.

Besides taking care of its own unfortunates, the meeting made a number of contributions for causes at a distance.

In 1725 a poor Friend in New England had the misfortune to have his wife and children carried off by Indians, and recovered them only by paying a heavy ransom. A collection was taken up to assist him. Thirty years later, in 1755, settlers in central Pennsylvania being made homeless by the Indian troubles of the time, £43 was collected toward their relief. Similarly, collections were made for poor English Friends during the hard times following the Napoleonic Wars, and for needy Friends in Virginia in 1865.

IV

With the Abington Meeting safely domiciled in its new building in 1702, we enter on what may be considered the second period of its history. Property had been acquired, and its care, with the periodic renewal of trusteeships, began to assume greater importance.

The minutes of the meeting, as has been said, were edited by a committee, of disastrous memory, and transcribed by George Boone in 1718. The complete minutes commence at this point, and were copied by Alexander Seaton, a schoolmaster like George Boone, to October, 1731. Committees of revision were appointed periodically, but what further mutilation of the minutes resulted is probably not material. The ancient Volume I of the minutes, with its age-stained old rag paper, its precise penmanship and substantial covers of wood, ends with 1746.

As the community grows, marriages become more frequent. The necessary business of committee appointments, of inquiry into clearness, and reports of marriages accomplished, takes up more and more space in the minutes. Three marriages reported

accomplished at one monthly meeting was quite an ordinary event, and at the meeting in Ninth Month (September) 1752, there were actually five. Removals from the meeting, and the receiving of new members, the sending and receiving of membership certificates, are numerous, for it was an active and mobile generation, spreading southward to Virginia, and northward and westward in Pennsylvania.

But more than all else, we find a steady increase in matters affecting the internal discipline of the meeting. The first recorded case if that of John Gilbert, who was disowned in 1693 for a serious moral offense. And it is interesting to note that the meeting subsequently returned to the culprit the sum of three shillings, which he had subscribed toward the cost of the Oxford meeting house nine years previously.

The Society of Friends was undoubtedly becoming more rigid in its views, and more disposed to insist on conformity with the letter of the discipline.

Most infractions, of course, were for accomplishing marriages with persons not Friends, or by the assistance of a "priest," or by a magistrate or the mayor of Philadelphia. Such offenses we may look upon with a lenient judgment.

But it is impossible to read the minutes of the next hundred years without being shocked and saddened by the lax behavior of many Friends of the day. For months at a time, we find scarcely any business transacted but the necessary inquiries as to marriages, and a dreary list of disciplinary cases in all stages, often resulting in disownments.

In these proceedings hardly any of the old Abington families failed to have members involved. One case which must have been famous at the time was that of Giles Knight of Byberry, which extended over a period of two years, and which was only settled (favorably to Giles, as it happened) by an appeal to the quarterly meeting. Another recalcitrant member was Hannah Leech, the widow of Toby Leech the younger, whose spirited defense of her conduct, as reported to the meeting, makes highly entertaining reading.

It should not be inferred, however, that disownments were the certain result of being "dealt with." In some cases the

wrongdoer expressed penitence and was forgiven, and in others the charges were determined to be baseless. A considerable number of the disowned were later taken back into membership, their lives and conduct having shown that they had recognized their error and amended their ways.

Nor must it be understood that the attitude of the meeting toward offenders was harsh and unbending. There are many instances of patience and forbearance, and only occasionally can we see evidences of any spirit except that of Christian love and a desire for the welfare of the transgressor.

V

It was the pressure of the increasing business of the monthly meetings that presently compelled some reorganization, and this is perhaps as good a place as any to outline the changes that have taken place.

In the early days of the meeting, there was no such thing as a preparative meeting. The local meeting was usually known as the particular meeting, which met on First-days and usually on one week day for religious worship. Early in 1696 the first overseers were appointed for the particular meetings. In September, 1698, the Yearly Meeting authorized the establishment of meetings for business, or preparative meetings, and in 1700 and 1701 most of the particular meetings followed this advice.

The overseers were directed to be present at these preparative meetings, which undertook the care and discipline of their own members, only those cases which seemed too difficult to handle being passed up to the monthly meeting.

At the start, therefore, this monthly meeting consisted of Oxford and Byberry Particular Meetings, to which Cheltenham Particular Meeting was added in 1683. Germantown Particular Meeting was added soon afterward, but on what date is not certain. The first reference to Germantown, in our minutes, is when a general meeting, for religious worship only, was ordered to be held there, in rotation with the other three meetings; this was on First Month (March) 31, 1687.

The four preparative meetings of Oxford, Cheltenham, Germantown and Byberry were established about the beginning of

1702. These constituted the Oxford or Dublin Monthly Meeting, which shortly changed its name to Abington Monthly Meeting. This in turn was a part of Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting.

In 1716 a so-called constant meeting was established at Horsham, and this was made a preparative meeting in December of the following year.

This organization of Abington Monthly Meeting, with the five Preparative Meetings of Oxford, Byberry, Abington (formerly Cheltenham), Germantown and Horsham, continued for 65 years, until 1782. Representatives from each preparative attended the monthly meetings, their names appearing in the minutes from 1746 on. In 1755 a distribution of income from a certain fund left by William Carter was made, most likely on the basis of the relative sizes of the preparative meetings. Horsham, Germantown and Byberry Meetings received 40 shillings each, Abington £3, or 60 shillings, and Oxford Meeting, which had had a hard struggle to keep itself alive, only 20 shillings.

In 1772 Byberry Preparative Meeting suggested that the weight of business in the monthly meeting was too great, and proposed the setting up of another monthly meeting. This was disapproved at the time, but came up again in 1782, and on the advice of a large committee, it was decided to establish a new unit, to consist of Byberry and Horsham Preparative Meetings, and to be called Horsham Monthly Meeting.

The same congestion of business was being felt in Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, and in First Month (January) 1785, Abington Monthly Meeting suggested to the quarterly meeting that a new quarterly meeting be established in this territory. This was approved by the quarterly and yearly meetings, and accordingly Abington Quarterly Meeting was organized in that year, 1785, consisting of the monthly meetings of Abington, Gwynedd, Horsham, and Richland. The first quarterly meeting at Abington was held on Fifth Month 4, 1786.

The monthly meeting now consisted of Abington, Germantown and Oxford Preparative Meetings. In 1805 the name of Oxford was abandoned, and that Meeting was thereafter known as Frankford Preparative Meeting.

But Abington Monthly Meeting was soon to lose two of its remaining three preparatives. A movement to establish another monthly meeting was set on foot in the summer of 1815, and it was shortly agreed that Germantown and Frankford should organize a new meeting, to be known as Frankford Monthly Meeting.

For the last 114 years, therefore, Abington's own preparative meeting has been the sole subordinate unit of the monthly meeting. Its sessions were held monthly, preceding the monthly meeting, and its minutes for the early years would be of great interest if they had been preserved. For 186 years, up to 1888, the committee having care of the Abington School was appointed by the preparative meeting. The monthly sessions were finally discontinued as unnecessary, in Ninth Month, 1919.

VI

From these intricacies of church organization, let us return to our narrative. The half century from the 1720's to the outbreak of the Revolution was, in the main, uneventful enough. At the beginning of this period, in 1722, we find in the minutes the first of the very few mentions of Abington Friends School, for the maintenance of which the gift of John Barnes was partly made. This minute records the removal of Thomas Canby, one of the trustees of the property, to Buck County, and the appointment of Richard Martin in his place.

In 1723 the particular meetings were asked to assist Byberry Meeting in paying off the debt on their meeting house, built in 1714. In 1724 similar action was taken to assist Horsham in the finishing of their new building.

In January, 1752, the revised calendar went into effect, and thereafter in the minutes of the meeting the days and months were numbered as we do it today. That is to say, the last Monthly Meeting in 1751 was held on Tenth Month 30, which was December, but the next meeting is properly dated First Month 27, 1752. The dropping of eleven days to correct the accumulated lag in the old calendar was made in September of 1752, in unison with England and the rest of the American colonies. An epistle from London Yearly Meeting recommended

that the meetings in America conform to the change, and it was duly accomplished, though no doubt not without serious opposition from conservative elderly Friends.

By this time, the middle of the eighteenth century, the civil government of Pennsylvania was passing out of the hands of the Quakers. The French and Indian War broke out, and the defeat and death of General Braddock in 1775 caused intense excitement in Pennsylvania. The cry for defense against the enemy became overwhelming, and Quaker principles were denounced as visionary and absurd. The election to the legislature in 1756 lost the Friends a majority in that body for the first time.

From this time on, the Pennsylvania Assembly ceased to be a kind of adjunct to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and the Society steadily declined in influence in the Commonwealth.

Meanwhile the troubles with England that presently led to war and independence were brewing. When the conflict finally broke out in 1775, the Quakers were not only divided among themselves, but those who opposed the war and the military measures taken by the province were exposed to many trials and considerable losses. The Friends as a class were opposed to the war. Whatever they thought of the repressive measures of the English government, they were not willing to correct the evil by a resort to armed rebellion.

The consequence was that the Friends of Abington, like Quaker farmers elsewhere, notably in Chester County, were robbed and maltreated indiscriminately by the soldiers of both sides. In this trying time some members fell away from Friendly principles so far as to enter military service. Robert Lewis of Byberry and a considerable list of others were disowned by the meeting of Tenth Month 30, 1775. In the following year Asaph Wilson of Oxford was called before the meeting for acting as a committee man for the county.

Many Friends who did not go into the military service paid the fines that were assessed, or money to provide substitutes, and a special committee of the meeting was named to deal with these cases. Others assisted what the minutes call "the military people" by driving wagons when drafted for that purpose.

Jeremiah Walton presented to the meeting in 1780 a paper condemning his error in hauling a load of flour to the "camp"—doubtless the American camp, since there had been no British army camp in Pennsylvania since 1778.

But the oddest case is that of a woman Friend, Jane Lukens, whose acknowledgment of error came before the meeting. Her conscience would not permit her to pay money to the collector of substitute fines. But she did weakly indicate where the money could be found, by conducting the collector into the room where it was, which error of conduct she condemned to the satisfaction of the meeting.

This period of troubles arising from the peaceful professions of Friends ceased to be acute shortly after the war. But the peculiar views of Friends as to the payment of certain taxes led to many clashes with the civil authorities, and as late as 1825 we meet with long lists of seizures of wheat or cloth or livestock by the sheriff, to satisfy tax claims that the Quakers could not conscientiously pay.

VII

We come now to the building of the present meeting house. Reference has been made in another connection to the establishment of Abington Quarterly Meeting in 1785. When this was accomplished, it became apparent at once that Abington meeting house would be far too small for the numbers of people who would gather there.

Accordingly, committees were appointed by all the four monthly meetings, Abington, Horsham, Gwynedd and Richland, and these having met together, it was decided that the east end of the old meeting house should "be extended as large as the other part, and carried as high as to have convenient galleries above." The probable cost was estimated at £300 or thereabouts.

This sum was divided among the four monthly meetings, Abington's share being £97 10 shillings, Horsham's the same, Gwynedd's £75, and Richland's £30. Abington's £97½ was again divided among the three preparative meetings—Abington to raise about £49, Germantown £36, and Oxford £12—

probably showing the relative strength of the meetings at this time. One third of the money was called for at once.

The construction work began in the spring of 1786, and was finished, apparently, early in 1787. The treasurer reported to the meeting on Second Month 26, 1787, that the rebuilding of the east end was now completed, and that £56/7/10 remained to be paid. If £300 had previously been raised (which, of course, is by no means certain), the total cost was £356.

But the enlarged meeting house with its fine new upstairs galleries was still too small for the quarterly meeting. Ten years later, in Second Month, 1797, Abington Preparative Meeting informed the monthly meeting that the old west end of the building was in need of repairs. A committee of inquiry was appointed in the regular course. It might be of interest to quote the committee names: John Shoemaker, Anthony Williams, Joshua Morris, Thomas Fletcher, John Thompson, George Shoemaker, Levi Tyson, John Johnson, Anthony Johnson, Peter Robeson, John Jones, John Child, Nathan Harper, Joshua E. Pusey, and Robert Harper.

This committee reported that it was their judgment that mere repairs to the building would not be sufficient; but they recommended first getting the advice of the quarterly meeting. The monthly meeting approved this step, and at the same time informed the quarterly meeting that Abington Monthly and Preparative Meetings would themselves contribute £150 toward reconstruction of the building, besides assuming Abington's share of the remaining cost with the other monthly meetings.

Complete rebuilding of what the minutes call the "western apartment of this house" was decided on by the quarterly meeting, and the work began at once. In June the monthly meeting was shifted to Oxford, and was held there until October, while masons and carpenters plied their trades. Additional funds were called for, to the amount of £400, so that the total cost of this end of the building was probably about £550.

By November the meeting house was usable, and the meeting of Eleventh Month 27, 1797, was again held at Abington.

Thus it may be seen that the oldest portion of the present meeting house, the east end, dates from 1786; the west end from

1797. Should Abington Friends wish to place date stones on the building, these are the dates that should be used.

The wording of the minutes is not clear. But it seems likely from the text that nothing now remains of the original meeting house of 1699–1700, unless perhaps some fragments of foundation walls under the west end. On the other hand, it is quite likely that the stones used in rebuilding the west end are the identical ones taken from the old building, as its walls were demolished.

It may be added at this place that the next extensive remodeling of the meeting house took place fifty years later, in 1849. The floor needing repairs, a committee was appointed, and under its direction a new floor was laid over the old one in the east end, and the seats along the south side of both ends were raised, as they now appear. With some smaller repairs, the cost was $185.85½.

There is no certain record in the minutes of the removal of the small hoods over the main doors and the building of the porches. But the appointment of a committee in Twelfth Month, 1863, to erect "a shed, to be attached to the front of the meeting house," sounds as if it referred to this addition to the building.

The separation of Germantown and Frankford Meetings, to form Frankford Monthly Meeting, to which reference has been made, took place in 1815. The next event of importance was a more painful separation, the effects of which have not yet ceased to embarrass and sadden all those who bear the name of Friend.

There is no reference in Abington Meeting minutes to any of the doctrinal and personal controversies that preceded the separation of 1827. The sympathies of Abington Friends, as of the country meetings generally, were with the liberal party. The first and only action of the monthly meeting, in June, 1827, was in receiving and forwarding to the quarterly meeting the address drawn up by Philadelphia Friends at a conference at Green Street meeting house in the preceding April.

At the monthly meeting on Ninth Month 24, a few Friends in each of the men's and women's meetings arose and stated that they had assembled for the purpose of holding Abington

Monthly Meeting. If they were not permitted to do so in this building, they would be obliged to withdraw and hold the meeting at the home of Daniel Fletcher. And this they proceeded to do.

There is no reference to any of this in the minutes of that day. But a committee was appointed in December to consider the status of the Friends who had withdrawn. Upon their report, in February, a minute was made, reciting the facts of the withdrawal, and giving it as the sense of the meeting that these Friends could no longer be regarded as members of this meeting.

The Yearly Meeting made a request, a few months later, for a corrected account of the meeting membership and of the Friends who withdrew. This report gives the total membership of the meeting at the time of the separation as 584, of whom 281 were males and 303 females. The members who withdrew were 47, consisting of 9 men, 10 women, and 28 minor children.

VIII

The third period of meeting history may be considered to extend from 1815, when Germantown and Frankford left Abington Monthly Meeting, to the present day. The meeting was increasingly concerned with the care of its property, and particularly with its schools. As said before, there is almost nothing in the early minutes as to schools, although it is certain that a school has been maintained continuously on the property.

A committee on "Negroes and Schools" is mentioned once or twice before the Revolutionary War. But about 1784 the Yearly and quarterly meetings began to take a lively interest in the subject, and thereafter reports as to the schools maintained within the monthly meeting became frequent and explicit. It is not possible in this paper to narrate the history of the Abington School, which would make a considerable essay in itself.

A few more miscellaneous items may be of interest.

In 1686 it had been decided to hold separate business meetings of men and women Friends, "from time to time," for greater freedom of deliberation and expression. This was the beginning of the separate meetings, which continued for 207 years until Fourth Month, 1893, when the custom was discontinued.

The first overseers of marriages are mentioned in Fifth Month (July), 1709.

In 1756, for the first time, a list of queries was answered in writing, and the replies were forwarded to the quarterly meeting.

Births and deaths were first ordered to be recorded in 1759; removals in 1781.

In 1769 Abington Friends reported that they had prevailed with most of those who had marked their family graves in the burial ground with stones, to have them removed. Some, however, refused to do so, although it was a recommendation from the Yearly Meeting. In 1835 the same question came up, and a special committee was authorized to remove offending grave stones, or to sink them to a level with the ground. But this extreme austerity as to marking the resting places of the dead has never had the full support of Friends.

As the nineteenth century grows older, the membership of the meeting decreases, until in 1862 it is only 330. Marriages under care of the meeting grow fewer. Cases for discipline and disownments greatly decrease. Friends in Civil War days pay war taxes, aid soldiers to enlist, and even take up arms themselves—and are forgiven *en masse* by a minute in February, 1868, with the hope that all may be more careful in the maintenance of our religious testimonies in the future. By 1882 the membership is only 322.

The World War in 1917-18 imposed a new strain on the meeting, although much less severe than it had experienced in the 1770's and 1860's. In Seventh Month, 1917, the meeting organized a unit of the Yearly Meeting's Emergency Service Committee, its activities consisting chiefly in obtaining clothing and supplies for suffering noncombatants in the war. This unit, which met in a room of the old school building (now the caretaker's house), continued its work after the close of the war, disbanding finally in Seventh Month, 1920.

IX

So we come, disregarding of necessity many other interesting details of meeting history in the last 60 years, to the building as it now stands, with a new wing adjoining the older house at

the west end. The planning and construction of the addition required almost three years. The Advancement Committee suggested such a building at the meeting on Eleventh Month 26, 1926. The special Building Committee was authorized to proceed with the work on Third Month 25, 1929, and ground was broken on Sixth Month 3. The addition was completed five months later, and dedicated on Eleventh Month 9, 1929.

This paper may be closed by a paraphrase of the words of Charles Linton, spoken at Abington Meeting on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the founding of the meeting, in 1883:

> We will now leave these sturdy pioneers, having seen them in the forest, clearing away bushes and trees, and breaking the soil for new seed. Pioneers in religion, clearing away the errors of priestcraft and church abuses, and planting seed of religious freedom in which is found the true food for the spirit of man.
>
> How watchful were they over one another for good! How careful of the youth, how kind to the weak and lame, how helpful to the poor! Where shall we look for an equal number of men and women who lived nearer to the spirit of the Heavenly Father?

THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF NESHAMINA (MIDDLETOWN) MEETING

Middletown has also had its anniversary celebration, held Eleventh Month 1, 1933, at its own meeting house. We reprint an account of the occasion from the *Friends Intelligencer* of Eleventh Month 18, 1933. The address of Marion H. Longshore, on the history of Neshamina and Middletown Meeting, we expect to print in the next issue.

The quotation from the *Friends Intelligencer* is as follows:

> About four hundred members, descendants of members and guests, thronged the 140-year-old meeting house at Langhorne, Pennsylvania, to celebrate the 250th anniversary of the founding of that meeting. Relics and old records of historical interest were displayed. Arthur P. Townsend had charge of a "Book of Ancestors" in which those present were asked to record facts of family genealogy. In the time allotted for this, only sixty were able to enter their records, so the book was kept open for the privilege of entry at later gatherings. Several women wore the Quaker

garb of early days, using costumes of grandmothers and great-grandmothers.

Henry C. Pickering, clerk of the meeting, presided, and after welcoming the guests, asked the serious question: "Are we building as well for our children as the early Quakers built for us?" Marion H. Longshore read a paper on "Neshamina Meeting, 1683-1700," and John H. Wood one on "18th Century Progress." George W. Row read a poem written and read by his father, the late Washington Row, at the anniversary exercises held at Middletown in 1893.

Rufus M. Jones followed with an address on "The Future of Quakerism." George Fox, he said, was "not only a Quaker—he was an 'earthquaker.'" The telephone and the radio are effective because of their transmitters, and Quakerism, too, must transmit its ideas and ideals to other groups. The Society, he said, started out with a world-wide mission, but Friends soon settled down to doing "their own little work in their own little way." They not only built fences bull-strong, pig-tight, sheep-high, around their farms, but they zealously fenced in their own beliefs and customs and were content to live apart. We know now that we cannot live in detachment and no man can live unto himself, for his life is like the other half of a return ticket—not good if detached. The great experiment is still far from triumphant.

The last speaker was Lucretia M. Blankenburg, 88 years old. She told of the experiences of her uncle, the late Joseph Longshore, and his brother in the temperance movement one hundred years ago, and of their arrest and fine for holding a meeting in favor of this reform. She urged Friends to use their influence along the line of temperance.

THE EIGHTH GERMAN YEARLY MEETING

The German Yearly Meeting held at Bad Pyrmont, Germany, from July 29 to August 1, 1933, seemed to the Editor, who was privileged to attend, a historic occasion in at least two ways: it was the first meeting to be held in the new meeting house; and it seemed to contain a promise of a great future for German Quakerism. The Editor asked Hans Albrecht, clerk of the meeting, to prepare a history of the meeting house for the BULLETIN, but the manuscript could not be completed in time, and readers must wait for it until the next issue. The impressiveness of the immediate occasion may have promised a future for the Quaker movement in Germany that, in the history of Germany as it

actually unfolds, will fail to materialize—but certainly Germany seemed ripe for the Quaker message, and the Quaker body ready to be faithful bearers of that message.

Corder Catchpool, of London and Berlin, long a resident of Germany representing British Friends, records the following impressions of the Yearly Meeting in the London *Friend* of August 11, 1933, page 701:

English Friends who in considerable numbers attended the German Yearly Meeting at Pyrmont a week ago must have been frequently reminded of a special Yearly Meeting of their own, held at a time of national crisis some years ago. There was the same tensity of feeling, the same doubt and anxiety; but also the same eagerness and sense of quiet exhilaration.

Definite decisions on one striking and predominant issue were not called for at Pyrmont, as was the case in London in 1916; but under the surface of moderate calm there flowed strong undercurrents of feeling. If the issues at stake were for the most part of the future, and far-reaching rather than immediate and limited, they were certainly no easier to face on that account. Friends were present whose homes had been searched, who had lost their posts, who would shortly be facing trial, or who had already been through prison. Probably all had relatives or friends who had suffered under some phase or other of the Revolution.

It had been uncertain almost up to the last whether Y. M. would be allowed by the authorities, and this perhaps accounts for the comparatively few visitors from abroad. The U. S., Holland, and Czechoslovakia were represented, in addition to the strong contingent from England; but delegates from other Yearly Meetings and groups who attended a year ago were absent, and this was specially and regrettably noticeable in the case of France.

The first thought of many of the Friends who on Friday or Saturday, July 28 and 29, arrived to the number of 150 at Pyrmont from all parts of the Reich must have been: "Will the Y. M. take place at all?" and second: "If it does, will it run its course without interference or disturbance?" It did meet in opening session on Saturday evening, July 29, and ran a peaceable course to the official close at noon on Tuesday.

On the following day nearly half of the total attendance were still about, and turned up at 10 A. M. for a Meeting of Worship, though none had been announced, the word merely passing round from Friend to Friend—so loth, apparently, were all who could stay longer to leave the helpful atmosphere of the little town set amongst wooded hills, attractive to all by its natural endowments, to Quakers above all for its century-old traditions of the past, and by the hopes it holds for the future as the physical home-centre of the spiritual Society of Friends in Germany—the Swarthmore, shall we say, of the *Deutsche Jahresversammlung?* But the

future is dark and unknown, and without faith we cannot and dare not look into it.

For those who take delight in symbols, the Meeting House (like its predecessor, largely the gift of English Friends) is a good omen. Though to all intents and purposes complete, it is still in the hands of the builders, and its patent newness suggests to the mind a Beginning. The young grass, shrubs and trees of the surrounding newly laid-out grounds and walks, with life and growth still all before them, present the symbol still more strikingly. Helen Dixon, Chairman of the German Committee at Friends House, put the same thought somewhat differently when she reminded Y. M. how the old Meeting House, falling into decay and marked down for destruction, had renewed its strength like the eagle, mounted up with wings, flown from its original site across the old Quaker graveyard, and alighted gracefully but firmly on the other side, where it now stands, the joy and admiration of all who behold.

If this year's "J. V." (i. e., *Jahresversammlung,* or Yearly Meeting) stood above all, in the German phrase, "under the sign of the National Revolution," the second predominating note of the gathering was undoubtedly the new Meeting House. Standing on its fine corner-site in the Bomberg-Allee, it was the goal to which all eagerly made their way as soon as travelling impedimenta had been deposited at the various quarters, or even before. Gasps of pleased surprise accompanied the first glimpse of the building, renewed at the first sight of internal arrangements, colouring and decorations. In simple taste and dignity, it struck English visitors as a reduced counterpart of the large Meeting House at their own Friends House.

Almost the entire responsibility for this enterprise, carried through in spite of huge difficulties both foreseen and unforeseen, has fallen upon the Clerk of the Y. M.; and consequently to him belongs the chief credit, as was warmly acknowledged in the course of the meetings.

Some of the Friends who had been announced to give special addresses were unable to attend; but Wilhelm Hubben on the opening evening, with "What we all are seeking for" as his title; Henny Ludewig on "Silent Worship"; and Paul Helbeck on "German Mystics," each presented a subject which fitted admirably into the framework of place and occasion, and delivered the message in striking manner, but with quiet, clear tones for which all Friends must have been grateful to them. It was made clear how close is the affinity between the 16th and 17th century mystics of Germany and the Quaker movement which subsequently arose in England—our German Friends would, I think, hold it to be a case of lineal heritage.

The opening lecture traced another affinity: that of the early Christian community of the first century with more recent groups bound together by common faith in times of great political strain and stress. A summary of the epistles from other Y. M.'s all over the world was put together

and presented by Irene Helbeck in the able manner we have come to expect from her. Our own epistle, translated into English, will appear in an early number of THE FRIEND.

It is no disparagement to the lecturers, whose addresses maintained a uniformly high standard, to say that they were a secondary consideration to the principal, if unprogrammed, theme and purpose of the gathering. This was the opportunity for Friend to meet with Friend, and in a few days of quiet group and individual fellowship to strengthen and support one another by facing together the pressing problems of the hour.

The meetings of special committees to consider special needs, reminiscent of the first Meeting for Sufferings in 17th Century England, was a hardly less urgent purpose. In a weighty sitting for members only, the Clerk explained the negotiations which had taken place with various Government authorities before final permission to hold the gathering was granted. He had met with courtesy and helpfulness throughout, and had realised that the prestige of the Society of Friends still stands high in Germany. If in some minds the question arose, whether submission to any terms or conditions, however seemingly moderate and reasonable in the circumstances, is consistent with Quaker principles, it was realised that the opinion of Friends on such a subject admits of variation, and that the Clerk in negotiating on behalf of all had carried through a difficult piece of work to a generally satisfactory conclusion.

The startling intervention of a young Friend, demanding a lead from the Meeting, released a flood of hitherto pent-up feeling, and led to the strongest and deepest of all the sittings. The presence of German Young Friends in considerable numbers, quartered with a group of English Young Friend visitors in the local Youth Hostel, was a happy and encouraging feature of the gathering. A delightful bathe and picnic with them, in which a few older Friends were privileged to join, was one of the lighter features on the Agenda, as was the walk through beautiful woods on Sunday afternoon to coffee and cakes at the old Seebohm home, now a restaurant in Friedensthal. This is likely to become a regular and favourite item in future Y. M. programmes.

We missed the brilliant sunshine, so memorable a feature of last year's Meeting, and which is required to form the perfect setting for the picturesque little Spa, with its great avenues of trees, its handsome parks and gay flower-beds. Perhaps this, too, was symbolic; but if so, let us remember that in spite of rain, the sun did shine at times, and that life itself is like that.

We are glad to print here also another impression of this memorable Yearly Meeting, this one from the pen of Richard L. Cary, who had been for upwards of two years the representative of the American Friends Service Committee in Berlin. Many Friends are aware that a very few weeks after this meet-

ing, in the midst of his Quaker activities in Germany, Richard Cary was stricken, and after a brief illness passed away on October 16, 1933. His remains lie buried in the beautiful Quaker burying ground at Bad Pyrmont, beside the new meeting house of which he speaks in the opening paragraph.

Richard Cary's account of the sessions is as follows:

The first fact to be noted about this year's German Yearly Meeting, as it was the first fact to be observed at the gathering, is that of the existence of the new Meeting House,—new in its outward materials but obviously 18th centuryish in its design after the Quaker fashion of that time and in its inward timbers from that former day. These we saw as a skeleton last summer, and we know that they are sound and strong for a few centuries more. I would like to think that this *Quäkerhaus* in Bad Pyrmont can serve as a universal symbol,—a new aspect, quite suited to modern needs, but also a personality developed through its history and supported by hidden strength. At any rate, the *Quäkerhaus* does look like a Friends' Meeting House. You would recognize it for one anywhere.

Within, the meeting room is square with seats on the floor for 125 and places at each side, facing toward the center, for 100 more. Windows are in both side walls. As you come in the front door, an office or committee room is at the right of the vestibule, in the center is the door to the meeting room, and to the left is a door which leads to the coat racks and the stairs to the basement. The basement contains wash rooms in working condition, a kitchen which lacks equipment, and a dining-room where even the floor is still to be laid.

The Yearly Meeting, the eighth, opened in its old-new house on the 29th of July and continued until the following Tuesday. Friends showed clearly how stirred they were by the house itself, this visible evidence of the reality of Quakerism in Germany. They had given courageously from their scanty resources to build it. They had been helped by Friends abroad, chiefly in England. Now they are in sight of completion,—and it is their only rallying point, their standing declaration to the world at large that they live and are united with each other. Early Friends were never content, merely to meet. They needed "meeting houses." It is so with German Friends, too.

The sessions of the Yearly Meeting were at first centered around three addresses,—Wilhelm Hubben's on "What We Seek," Henny Ludewig's on "The Silent Meeting," and Paul Helbeck's on "Forerunners of Quakerism in Germany." These addresses and the discussion of them touched the problems of Friends very closely, for, as you can see, these Friends need deep sympathy with the striving of their fellowmen and understanding of their temptations, in the light of the past as well as the present. Thus may come, we hope, the chance to render help to those in physical

distress and spiritual bewilderment. Consideration of these addresses was for us as practical as the dealing with committee reports in England and America,—perhaps more so. Americans should realize that London Yearly Meeting tried this year to subordinate committee activities to the expression of Friends' deeper concerns. Something of the same idea was evident in the development of the thought of the German Yearly Meeting. And I might add that this was the more remarkable in that German Friends, living far separated from one another, did come, even in this tense time, into a feeling of living unity.

The last session gathered together the general thoughts of previous meetings, for it was attended only by Friends and was the occasion of straight speaking. And I was touched and inspired to discover at this meeting, as also in an earlier meeting of the Executive Committee, that German Friends see very clearly. There was less emphasis on resistance to this or that known evil than on the great opportunity which lies open to guide men toward good and loving service,—to influence one's neighbors, one's casual acquaintances and, perhaps, through the joint influence of the Yearly Meeting, the public opinion of larger groups in a notable way, commensurate with the spiritual reality of Friends' testimony. Certainly, the help which had been willingly given by public officials and interested citizens in preparing the way for a successful gathering has in itself showed how great a door is open to Friends if they care to use it in emerging from their seclusion to wide service in a changing world.

Young Friends were much in evidence at the Yearly Meeting. I did not count them, or associate with them closely, for I was busy with their less elastic elders, but I imagine there were twenty or so,—a fine, concerned group. They lacked the companionship of several of their fellows from abroad who were in evidence last year. There is a regrettable belief in some of our neighboring countries that the visit of foreigners may embarrass German Friends. The contrary is true. We need visitors very much,—the finer, the better.

On the statistical side, a loss of 29 members since last year and a gain of 28 is to be recorded. The total membership is still about 200. And, perhaps, with the statistics belongs the comment that this Yearly Meeting was remarkable for the high order of its attendance. Few non-Friends were there.

Thirteen English Friends were present, including Joan Mary Fry and Helen Dixon, and Headley Horsnaill, from the Vienna Center. The Americans present were: Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Howard E. Yarnall, the Hole youngsters, and the Dexters from Boston, known to Friends through his work with the Service Committee. The only other foreigner, if you count the Catchpools, my wife and me as Germans, was Toot van Oordt, of Dutch nationality, but a member of London Yearly Meeting and a worker in the Paris Center. She is our finest exhibit in internationalism.

It is perhaps the usual practice of the BULLETIN to print records of Quaker history of the past, but under a deep impression of the significance of this meeting as history in the making, the Editor prints herewith a list of those known to have been present at one or more of the sessions of the German Yearly Meeting held at Bad Pyrmont from July 29 to August 1, 1933. The list is supplied by Hans Albrecht, clerk of the meeting, and as an effort was made to get everyone to register and wear a badge, the list is probably nearly complete.

ATTENDERS AT THE GERMAN YEARLY MEETING OF 1933

(Addresses are in Germany unless otherwise designated.)

Doris Abraham, Woodbrooke, England
Hans and Katharine Albrecht, Hamburg
Etta Albrecht, Hamburg
Maria Alpers, Hannover
Grete Arnold-Heilemann, Bochum, Westfalen
Lucy B. Backhouse, Purley, England
Anna Barlow, London
Helmut Bauereis, Lauf am Pegnitz
Ernst K. F. Becker-Burks, Kleinschönebeck bei Fichtenau
Elise H. Behrend, Berlin-Charlottenburg
Adolf and Gertrud Beiss, Braunschweig
Dora Bekker, Frankfurt am Main
Hertha Boeck, Berlin
Bertha Bracey, Friends House, London
Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Swarthmore, Pa., U. S. A.
Horst Brückner, Leipzig
Otto Buchinger, Witzenhausen, Werra
Leonore Burnitz, Frankfurt am Main
Mary Campbell, Cambridge, England
Heinrich Carls, Hamburg
Richard L. and Mary G. Cary, Berlin-Schmargendorf
Corder and Gwen Catchpool, Berlin-Schlachtensee
E. John Catchpool, Welwyn Garden City, England
Florence and Ruth Catchpool, Welwyn Garden City, England
Nancy Catford, Welwyn Garden City, England
Friedrich Christiansen, Erfurt
Ernst Dauscher, Nürnberg
Robert Davis, Selly Oak, England
Robert and Elizabeth Dexter, Belmont, Mass., U. S. A.
Dorothea Dickhaut, Berlin-Zehlendorf-Mitte
Helen W. Dixon, London
Berta Eccius, Berlin-Lichterfelde
Albert and Marie Edert, Hannover
Albert Edert, jun., Hannover
Karl Fischer, Frankfurt am Main
Doris Fone
Leonhard and Mary Friedrich, Nürnberg
Joan Mary Fry, London
Emil Fuchs, Bad Ferienwalde
Christopher Garrett, Berlin-Tempelhof
Fritz Giessler, Obervellmar bei Kassel
Lilian Graham, Low Cop, Kendal, England
Evelyn Green
Albrecht Gubalke, Sangerhausen
Gerhard and Olga Halle, Berlin-Lichterfelde
Anni Halle, Berlin-Lichterfelde
Paula Hans, Berlin-Neu-Heiligensee
Joachim Harpin, Berlin-Lankwitz
Paul and Irene Helbeck, Wuppertal-Elberfeld
Eva Hermann, Stuttgart

Annaliese Hewig, Berlin
Lotte and Sigrid Hoffmann, Berlin-Grunewald
Erhard Höhne, Berlin-Spandau
Allen D. Hole, Jr., Westtown, Pa., U. S. A.
Francis Hole
Emma Holtz, Berlin-Britz
Headley Horsnaill, Vienna
Wilhelm Hubben, Magdeburg (now Wallingford, Pa., U. S. A.)
Ariens S. Kappers, Amsterdam-Zuid
Ellen King
Hilde Knauf, Meiningen, Thüringen
Hertha Kraus, Lindenfels im Odenwald
Carl Kroll, Hamburg
Auguste Krüger, Holm-Seppensen, Kr. Hamburg
Elsbeth Krukenberg-Conze, Kreuznach im Rheinland
Margarethe Lachmund, Schwerin
Fritz and Martha Legatis, Königsberg
Kati Lotz, Fallingbostel in Hannover
Gertrud Luckner, Freiburg im Breisgau
Therese Lüdek, Berlin-Buchholz
Henny Ludewig, Bielefeld
Heinrich Lühr, Ahnsbeck, Kr. Celle
Helen Marsh, Dorking, England
John Mayor, Leigh, England
Martha Mehley, Guben
Rudolf Mehmke, Petzen, Stuttgart-Degerloch
Wilhelm Mensching and wife, Petzen, Bückeburg-Land
Gertraude Neumeister, Berlin-Schlachtensee
Rose Neuse, Lindenfels im Odenwald
Gerhard Ockel, Guben
Bernhard and Frieda Oechslin, Ludwigsburg, Württemberg
Ruth Oechslin, Ludwigsburg, Württemberg
Toot Bleuland van Oordt, Paris
Heinrich Otto, Kassel
Frieda Pflaum, Guben
Manfred and Lili Pollatz, Klotzsche bei Dresden
Ernst Prinzen, Königsberg
Else Prött, Schildesche-Bielefeld
Emma Raeydt, Bad Pyrmont
Erna Rau, Guben
Walter and Johanna Rieber, Freiburg im Breisgau
Hans-Walter Roske, Hannover
Ernst Rummel, Nürnberg
Hans Rummel, Nürnberg
Eva Schaal, Berlin
Paul and Doris Schabacker, Hannover-Linden
Elly Scharlach, Guben
Rudolf Schlosser, Frankfurt am Main
Rudolf Schmidt, Berlin
Johann Schneider, Nürnberg
Eleonore Schroeder, Hamburg
Gustav and Marie Schwarzbach, Reichenberg, Czecho-Slovakia
Wolfgang Seiferth, Magdeburg
Ludwig Siebert, Stuttgart
Jangeorg Specht, Bremen
Hedwig Steurer, Stuttgart-Degerloch
Mia Stracke, Wasserfall, Ruhr
Therese Strobel, Dörnigheim, Kr. Hanau
Francis and Edith Sturge, Stainton Dale, England
Grete Sumpf, Willingen, Waldeck
Evelyn Vernon, Berlin
Olga Viering, Hamburg
Gertrud Vitt, Karlshafen, Weser
Walter Weber, Erfurt
Paul Weilandt, Erfurt
Otto and Lydia Weis, Müllheim, Baden
Ernst Wetzel, Magdeburg
Johanna Wieck, Berlin-Pankow
Rudolf Wieding, Hannover
Gyrth Wright, Cambridge, England
Howard E. Yarnall, Wallingford, Pa., U. S. A.

IN MEMORIAM NORMAN PENNEY

The death of Norman Penney, LL.D., early in October, has taken from the Society of Friends a historian whose life of devotion to Quaker historical interests in the early period of the

Society can hardly be overpraised. His researches into the life of George Fox and his editing of the Journals, to name but one of his interests, can hardly be appreciated by the layman. One who has worked at Friends Library in London knows that his familiarity with the great mass of material deposited there enabled him to answer at once many obscure questions of the past. His passing is a sad loss to the Quaker historian of the future. The indexing and filing done by him and under his direction will be of great value to those who come after him.

During a correspondence of some thirty years, his unfailing interest in our American Quaker history has been stimulating and encouraging, and his contributions to the BULLETIN have been continuous in their service.

There are those on this side of the Atlantic who will feel the death of this Quaker historian as a personal loss. The past holds for our younger Friends many lessons for the solution of present and future problems, and their attention needs to be directed to the sources of instruction by such able hands as those of Dr. Penney.

—AMELIA MOTT GUMMERE

A TRIBUTE TO RAYNER W. KELSEY

The Editor is very happy to print the following tribute to the unselfish zeal and trained editorial skill of his predecessor, who has indeed set and maintained a standard for the BULLETIN which it will tax the present incumbent to maintain. The author of the tribute prefers to remain anonymous.

"There have been but two editors of the BULLETIN in the twenty-seven years since Isaac Sharpless started it on its successful career—Allen C. Thomas and Rayner W. Kelsey. The latter has now resigned after a service of fourteen years, and acknowledgment of his efforts to arouse and direct interest in Quaker things historical is but due to one who has given so generously of his time and strength. We hope that freedom from this minor but important interest will permit his working our historical interests into a larger and more influential field."

The Editor regrets that the wealth of interesting and timely material arising from the Abington and Middletown anniversaries, combined with the necessity of keeping this issue down to moderate size, has crowded out the book reviews and smaller notices.